

/331 cont./

*171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
682 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and
left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairi idyl. Tumayaua,
the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon
as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a
quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's
stool belonged to her.

*171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
648 sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one
of the Bakairi /Bacairi/ married to Paresif women had children,
they would be Paresif. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
*171 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/,
and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy
Bakairi and Kustenau /Custenau/, between Kulinehu Bakairi and
Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
so had Auetó men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called
"Arauitf." On the other hand, a Kustenau man and a Nahuquá

"The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map
of the river course was also called an "Arauitf"
by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-
plug was explained by the fact that he had had
the operation later; he himself traced his
geographical knowledge back to his own
journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakairi, whereas we
never observed the opposite, that Bakairi women married into
*171 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakairi village on the
591 Batovy, had as his wife Awá's daughter from Maigéri and, when
844 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awá's house
on the Kulinehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

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see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakalif called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakif called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations; the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakalif takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes, cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

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601 In their kinship system the Bakairi distinguished parallel
 605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and ila, for men or women,
 respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama
 and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women,
 601 respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
 604 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's
 brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was ex-
 tended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's
 brother, kogo, and the father's sister, inuri, got special
 601 designations. There were special terms for male or female
 Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the
 first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego
 and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinc-
 tion of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekan
 and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego,
 her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were
 called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and
uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
 603 generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to
 sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and
 woman. In the second descending generation a single term,
iveri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not
 606 preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
 591 seem to have been among the Bakairi any special rules concern-
 ing residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-
 in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
 595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the
 Kringano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions
 assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairi was characterized by
 a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which
 individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural
 dangers that surrounded them.

[P.73-B]

- 61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASELLI)

- 173 Pregnancy (*enohia*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord